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CONTENTS

PAGE

The Authorship of the *Second Maiden's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*.....*Richard H. Barker* 51

With Horn and Hound.....*Paul Fatout* 63

The Influence of Environment.....*Arthur Heine* 77

Who is E.K.? (Conclusion).....*Dr. Raymond Jenkins* 82

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All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 601 West 113th Street, New York, N. Y.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *SECOND MAIDEN'S TRAGEDY* AND *THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY*

By RICHARD H. BARKER

IN recent years quite different opinions have been expressed about the authorship of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy,* two Elizabethan plays that may well have been written by the same man; but up to the present time no one has tried to gather together and interpret all the relevant evidence about them. Yet this seems an obvious thing to do. It is possible that the whole body of evidence will prove less ambiguous than the separate items; it is also possible that reasonable certainty about the authorship of one of the two plays—say *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*—will lead to something like certainty about the authorship of the other. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is, in fact, the natural one to begin with, because it has been much less carefully studied than its companion piece and hence is more likely to yield a substantial amount of fresh evidence. Such a beginning no doubt involves a violation of chronology, but under the circumstances this will perhaps be excusable.

I. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*

The Second Maiden's Tragedy [*SMT*] is one of the few surviving plays in the Warburton collection, now preserved at the British Museum in MS. Lansdowne 807. The greater part of the text is in the hands of a scribe, who presumably made a fair copy of the author's draft. But some of the corrections and additions are in other hands — one of them probably the author's, one probably the prompter's, and one probably Sir George Buc's. At the end of the manuscript there is the following note: "This second Maydens tragedy (for it hath no name inscribed) may wth the reformations bee acted publikely. 31. octob^{r}. 1611. /. G. Buc."[1] On the verso of the same sheet there is another note (apparently written before 1650), in which the play is ascribed to Thomas Goff. But Goff's name has been crossed out and that of George Chapman substituted. This name

has in turn been crossed out and the words "By Will Shakspear" have been written below it. The hands responsible for the changes belong to the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, but the exact dates are immaterial since none of the three ascriptions can be taken seriously.[2]

The play was first published in 1824, and during the century or so that followed several scholars expressed opinions about its authorship. In 1829 Tieck argued for Massinger,[3] but it is easy enough to show that Massinger and the author of *SMT* have little if anything in common. In 1875 Swinburne suggested Middleton,[4] but in 1891 Fleay contended that Middleton could not have written the play because he was not connected with the King's Men until 1622. Had Fleay confined himself to the facts—had he said that Middleton was not known to have been connected with the King's Men as early as 1611—he would himself have seen that his argument had little force. But Fleay went on to make observations of considerable importance. He showed that certain incidents in *SMT* closely resembled incidents in *The Revenger's Tragedy,* and that both plays were probably written by the same man.[5] He did not himself fix on a definite name, but this was done in 1911 by Oliphant, who favored Middleton,[6] and in 1919 by Sykes, who favored Tourneur.[7] In 1930 the evidence for Tourneur was summarized by Nicoll, who, however, refused to include the play in his edition of Tourneur's works.[8]

The Case for Tourneur. The evidence for Tourneur—— in so far as it consists of resemblances between *SMT* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*—is not very impressive, either in quality or quantity. Sykes gives only the vaguest sort of verbal parallels. Nicoll notices that the deaths of Anselmus, Votarius, and the Wife are somewhat like the deaths of Sebastian, Belforest and Levidulcia. No doubt they are, but the principal characters of domestic tragedies often die in the final scene. Nicoll goes on to point out a "general likeness" between Govianus and the Lady on the one hand and Charlemont and Castabella on the other;[9] but it is scarcely the sort of likeness that suggests common authorship.

The Case for Middleton: 1. Irony. The play is like much of Middleton's dramatic work in that it is essentially and profoundly ironical. It concerns characters who are fundamentally blind, who fail to understand the world in which they live, who insist on undoing themselves. The most striking example is perhaps Anselmus, the central character in the domestic scenes, who arranges a test for his wife because he wants to make sure that she will always remain faithful to him. But the test has disastrous consequences—she falls; he gets exactly what he wants to avoid. One is reminded of many Middleton plays in which the characters work against their own interests—of *A Mad World, My Masters* and *A Trick to Catch the Old One,* in which Follywit and Hoard insist on marrying whores, of *More Dissemblers Besides Women,* in which Lactantio and the Cardinal betray themselves for ends they can never attain, of *The Changeling,* in which Beatrice not only alienates Alsemero but becomes hopelessly entangled with De Flores, the man she loathes.

There is also a good deal of incidental irony, some of it strikingly close to that used in the plays of Middleton. In lines 894-904, for example, Anselmus, who is not yet aware that his wife has betrayed him, eulogizes marriage. "Tis a fine life to marrie:" he says, "no states like it." In *Women Beware Women,* III. i. 82-109, Leantio, who is not yet aware that his wife has become the Duke's mistress, delivers a similar eulogy, beginning:

> How near am I now to a happiness
> That earth exceeds not! not another like it.

In *A Trick to Catch the Old One,* V. ii. 41-42, Hoard exclaims:

> Who would not wed? the most delicious life!
> No joys are like the comforts of a wife.

He has not yet discovered that his wife is a courtesan.

2. *Characters.* A number of characters in the play might be compared to somewhat similar characters in Middleton, but in one case at least—that of Sophonirus—comparison

is inevitable. He is a wittol who describes with obvious relish his infamous domestic arrangements. His wife's lover, he says, "getts me all my children, there I saue by'te;"[10] and he goes on to remark that

> one frend is Baracadoe to a hundred
> & keeps em owte, nay more, a husbandes sure
> to haue his children all of one[s] mans getting,
> & he that performes best, can haue no better;
> I'me eene as happie then that saue a labour.[11]

He is obviously very similar to Allwit in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside,* another wittol who describes his domestic arrangements in much the same way, sometimes using exactly the same language.

> He gets me all my children, and pays the nurse
> Monthly or weekly.
>
> I'm as clear
> From jealousy of a wife as from the charge:
> O, two miraculous blessings! 'tis the knight
> Hath took that labour all out of my hands.[12]

3. *Style.* The style is, as Swinburne says, very close to that of the later Middleton. It is scarcely necessary to list mannerisms or to classify images: the best evidence is the text itself. In a speech like the following one gets—or seems to get—the full flavor of Middleton's verse. The rhythm is characteristically easy, the images are characteristically elusive.

> Ile sooner giue my blessings to a drunkerd
> Whome the ridiculous power of wine, makes humble
> as foolish vse makes thee,—base spirrited girle
> that canst not thinck aboue disgrace and beggarie,
> when Glorie is set for thee and thy seed
> advauncement for thy father, beside ioye
> able to make a latter springe in me
> in this my fowrescore somer, and renew me
> with a reuersion yet of heat and youthe?
> but the deiection of thy mynde and spirrit
> makes me thy father guiltie of a fault
> that drawes thy birth in question, and een wronges
> thy mother in her ashes being at peace
> with heavne and man, had not her life and vertues

> bin seales vnto her faithe, I should thinck thee now
> the worke of some hirde servaunt! some howse Tailor
> and no one part of my endeuour in thee.
> had I neglected greatness: or not rather
> pursued allmost to my eternall hazard,
> thow'd'st nere bin a lordes daughter. (Ll. 655-674.)

"When Glorie is set for thee and thy seed," "Pursued allmost to my eternall hazard"—lines like these are unmistakably Middleton's, and the lines containing the image of the seasons—

> ioye
> able to make a latter springe in me
> in this my fowrescore somer—

are even more characteristic. It so happens that Middleton uses the same image and much the same language in *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's,* IV, i, 1-3:

> O my reviving joy! thy quickening presence
> Makes the sad night of threescore and ten years
> Sit like a youthful spring upon my blood.

4. *Diction.* The author of the play shares with Middleton a fondness for certain abstract words that are rich in associations—words like *joy, blessing, comfort, grace, glory, peace,* and *sin.* There are several examples in the long speech quoted above. Of the unusual words, only one seems significant—*mystical,* meaning "secret" or "unavowed." It occurs in the phrase *misticall Pandaress,* l. 99[3]; compare *mystical cases of venery* (*Family of Love,* IV, iv, 86), *mystical quean* (*Your Five Gallants,* V, i, 5-6), *mystical bawdy-house* and *mystical lecher* (*Roaring Girl,* preface and II, i, 22), *mystical baggage* (*Chaste Maid,* III, i, 20), and *misticall harlott* (*Hengist,* V, ii, 199).

5. *Versification.* It is easy to see from examples given elsewhere in this paper that the versification is quite unlike that of Tourneur, but very similar to the versification of the later Middleton. Figures on feminine endings provide a kind of rough check:

Play	No. lines tested	No. fem. endings	Percentage fem. endings
SMT	500	210	42
Chaste Maid	400	185	46.3
No Wit	500	226	45.2
Atheist's Tragedy	500	37	7.4

6. *Oaths and Ejaculations.* The oath *in faith* (or *faith* or *by my faith*—there are several variations) appears 25 times in the play.[18] The same oath is frequently used by Middleton, but much less frequently by Tourneur, as the following table will show:

Play	Total no. oaths	No. of *faith*
SMT	70	25
Chaste Maid	106	58
No Wit	101	54
Atheist's Tragedy	45	9

Middleton's favorite ejaculations *pish* and *push* both appear in the play, the former twice, the latter three times. There are no examples of *tush,* the ejaculation used by Tourneur in *The Atheist's Tragedy.*

7. *Parallels.*

and laye vsurpers svynnynge in their glories
like *Adders in warme beames.* (13-14)

Cf. Game at Chess, IV, iv, 10, 13:

—The glitterings Serpent . . .
—Looke, would you see distruction lye a sunning.

Also *Women Beware Women,* III, ii, 292-293 (From many beggars, that had lain a-sunning/ In thy beams only else).

tis but a syn of Ioye, ther is no gladnes
but has a pride it liues by,—thats the oyle
that feedes it into flames. (29-31)

Cf. No Wit, II, ii, 35:

When joy, the oil that feeds it, is dried up.
one whose heart is lockt
vp in anothers bosome. (75-76)

Cf. Women Beware Women, III, 1, 85-86:

> the conceal'd comforts of a man
> Lock'd up in woman's love.
> as poore as *Vertue.* (182)

Cf. Women Beware Women, I, i, 128:

> And I'm as rich as virtue can be poor.
> fortunes are but the outsides of true worth. (189)

Cf. Mad World, IV, iii, 41:

> Some have fair outsides that are nothing worth.
> yo^r^ grace hath hapned
> vpon a straung waie, yet it proues the neerest. (247-48)

Helvetius here expresses approval of the Tyrant's plan for seducing the Lady. *Cf. No Wit,* I, ii, 104-105, where Mistress Low-Water says of Sir Gilbert Lambstone, who is trying to seduce her:

> What a strange path he takes to my affection,
> And thinks't the nearest way!
> the only enemye that my life can showe me. (623)

Bellarius reveals his hatred for Votarius—a hatred that is never properly explained in the play. *Cf. More Dissemblers,* III, ii, 59-60, where Lactantio reveals a hatred, also unexplained, for Andruggio:

> The only enemy that my vengeance points to.
> yet could yo^u^ be more pretious then a father
> wch next a husband is the ritchest treasure
> mortalitie can show vs. (694-96)

Cf. Hengist, I, ii, 180-181:

> You Chaste Lampe of eternitye, tis a treasure
> Too pretious for deaths moment to pertake.
> Aboue the flight of twentie fethered mistresses
> [that glister in the Svnne of Princes fauours]. (714-15)

Cf. Women Beware Women, IV, ii, 21-22:

I'll see that glistering whore, shines like a serpent
Now the court sun's upon her.
does thy scorne cast
so thick an ignoraunce before thine eyes. (746-47)

Cf. More Dissemblers, IV, i, 2-5:

cast all their eyes
That guard the castle
Into a thicker blindness than thine own,
Darker than ignorance or idolatry.
—and maye it proue
the first asscent of your ymortall risinge
neuer to fall agen.
—a springe of blessinges
keep euer wth thee. (813-17)

The Lady here raises her kneeling father from the ground, and the father blesses her. *Cf. Old Law,* IV, ii, 52-55, where Leonides raises his kneeling son:

never son
Was in the way more of celestial rising:
Thou art so made of such ascending virtue,
That all the powers of hell can't sink thee.

And *No Wit,* II, ii, 53, where Lady Twilight addresses her kneeling son:

Rise, and a thousand blessings spring up with thee!

like one that has a watche of curious makinge,
thinckinge to be more cvnynge then the workeman
neuer giues ouer tampringe wth the wheeles
till either springe be weakned, ballanc bowde
or some wrong pin put in, and so spoiles all. (832-36)

Cf. Women Beware Women, IV, i, 11-15:

If I should set my watch, as some girls do,
By every clock i' the town, 'twould ne'er go true;
And too much turning of the dial's point,
Or tampering with the spring, might in small time
Spoil the whole work too.

his eye offendes me. (914)

Cf. Changeling, III, iv, 14:

> And if that eye be darken'd that offends me.

Also *Michaelmas Term,* IV, iv, 80 (No eye offends us).

> I haue lockt my self
> from myne owne libertie wth that key. (986-87)

Cf. Mad World, I, ii, 111-114:

> And as a keeper that locks prisoners up
> Is himself prison'd under his own key,
> Even so my husband, in restraining me,
> With the same ward bars his own liberty.

> one that knowes how to imploye thee, and scornes death
> as much as SOME [great] men feare it. (1353-54)

> that he became as hatefull to our myndes
> as death's vnwellcome to a howse of ritches. (2432-33)

Cf. More Dissemblers, I, iii, 99:

> Hates him as deeply as a rich man death.

Also *Women Beware Women,* III, i, 111-112 (Why, this is dreadful now as sudden death/ To some rich man).

> like some man
> in tyme of sicknes that would rather wish
> (to please his fearefull flesh) his former health
> restord to him then death, when after triall,
> if it were possible ten thowsand worldes
> could not entice him to returne agen
> and walke vpon the earth from whence he flew. (1441-47)

Cf. Hengist, I, i, 76-78:

> A gloryfied soule departed from the Bodye,
> Wold to that loathsom gaole returne againe,
> With such greate paine.
> o the wronges
> that ladies do their honors when they make
> their slaues familiar wth their weaknesses
> thei'r euer thus rewarded for that deed,
> they stand in feare eene of the groomes they feed. (1566-70)

Cf. Your Five Gallants, IV, ii, 85-88:

> she's a fool
> That makes her servant fellow to her heart;
> It robs her of respect, dams up all duty,
> Keeps her in awe e'en of the slave she keeps.

> she trustes me now to cast a mist forsooth
> before the servauntes eyes. (1636-37)

Cf. No Wit, II, ii, 136:

> And to cast mists before my father's eyes.

Also *Family of Love,* III, ii, 54 (cast a mist before thy jealous guardian), *Black Book,* VIII, 35 (cast a cuckold's mist before the eyes of her husband), and *Triumphs of Truth,* VII, 242 (cast mists to blind the plain/ And simple eye of man).

> in that pale parte
> wch drawes so many pitties from these springes. (2308-09)
> what slowe springes haue I? . . .
> how pittie strikes een throughe inscensible thinges. (1738-40)

Cf. Mad World, I, i, 177-178:

> a fool that truly pities
> The false springs of thine eyes.

Also *Game at Chess,* I, i, 15 (Rayes the least Spring of pittie in her Eye).

> wellcome to myne eyes
> as is the daye-springe from the morninges woombe. (2388-89)

Cf. Triumphs of Truth, VII, 258:

> Before the day sprang from the morning's womb.

Also *Changeling,* IV, ii, 150-151 (Chaste as the breath of heaven, or morning's womb,/ That brings the day forth).

> Ime like a man pluckt vp from many waters
> that neuer lookt for help and am here plac'te
> vpon this cheerfull mowtaine wher prosperitie
> shootes forth her ritchest beame. (2422-25)

Cf. No Wit, II, iii, 252-254:

> I feel a hand of mercy lift me up
> Out of a world of waters, and now sets me
> Upon a mountain, where the sun plays most.

Parallels are not perhaps at the moment a fashionable form of evidence, but in this case they clearly indicate a connection of some sort between Middleton and *SMT*. Either (1) the author of the play studied and imitated Middleton, or (2) Middleton studied and imitated the play, or (3) Middleton and the author were one and the same. The first possibility seems definitely excluded because many of the parallels given above concern plays that were almost certainly written later than *SMT*. The second possibility deserves consideration, even though it is difficult to believe that Middleton made a careful study of a second or third-rate play that was not published until two hundred years after his death. But before attempting to review the whole body of evidence, I should perhaps list resemblances between *SMT* and *The Revenger's Tragedy,* some of them first noticed by Fleay more than fifty years ago.

II. *SMT* and *RT*.

645 ff. Helvetius urges his daughter to become the Tyrant's mistress.

Fleay compares *RT,* II, i, 153 ff. Gratiana urges her daughter to become Lussurioso's mistress.

738-749. The Lady pretends not to recognize her father. Oliphant compares *RT,* II, i, 180-182, 260-262. Castiza pretends not to recognize her mother.

750 ff. Helvetius is converted by Govianus.
Stoll compares *RT,* IV, iv, 38 ff. Gratiana is converted by her sons.

1249 ff. The Lady commits suicide to escape the Tyrant's lust.

Nicoll compares *RT,* I, iv, 30-53. Antonio's wife commits suicide after she has been raped.

1374 ff. To avoid being suspected of murder, Govianus props Sophonirus's body against a door so that it looks as if he were still alive.

Cf. RT, IV, ii, 238-253, V, i, 1 ff. For the same reason Vindice and Hippolito lean the Duke's body, apparently in a sitting position, against a post or wall.

2188[1-16]. The dying Anselmus learns of the infidelity of his wife.

Stoll compares *RT,* III, v, 185-234. The dying Duke learns of the infidelity of his Duchess.

2317 ff. Govianus paints the corpse of his mistress with poison and thus kills the Tyrant.

Fleay compares *RT,* III, v, 105-108, 154-159. Vindice poisons the skull of his mistress and thus kills the Duke.

These resemblances are very striking, and no one since Fleay has doubted that the two tragedies are in some way related. But I shall again postpone trying to determine exactly what the relationship is until I have reviewed the scholarship on *RT* and presented what seems to me the very strong case that can be made for Middleton.

[*To be continued*]

[1]*The Second Maiden's Tragedy,* 1611, ed. W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1909), p. 78.

[2]*Ibid.* pp. v-xii.

[3]Ludwig Tieck, *Shakespeare's Vorschule* (Leipsig, 1823-29), II, xliii-xlvii. See also *D.N.B.,* article "Massinger," where Boyle divides the play between Massinger and Tourneur.

[4]Swinburne, *Complete Works,* ed. Sir Edmund Gosse and T. J. Wise (London, 1925-27), XII, 182-188; also XI, 398-399 and XVIII, 153, 375.

[5]F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama,* 1559-1642 (London, 1891), II, 272, 330-331. See also Beddoes, *Works,* ed. H. W. Donner (Oxford, 1935), p. 650.

[6]E. H. C. Oliphant, "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," *Modern Philology,* VIII (1910-11), 423-424. See also Oliphant, "The Authorship of 'The Revenger's Tragedy'," *Studies in Philology,* XXIII (1926), 158-159; *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (New Haven, 1927), p. 443; and *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (New York, 1929), II 10.

[7]H. Dugdale Sykes, "Cyril Tourneur: 'The Revenger's Tragedy:' 'The Second Maiden's Tragedy'," *Notes and Queries,* 12th series, V (1919), 225-229.

[8]Tourneur, *Works,* ed. Allardyce Nicoll (London, n.d.), pp. 47-49.

[9]*Ibid.,* p. 48. The likeness was first noticed by Stoll; see E. E. Stoll, *John Webster* (Boston, 1905), pp. 114-115.

[10]L. 48.

[11]Ll. 55-59. The brackets in quotations from *SMT* mark corrections in the MS.

[12]*Chaste Maid,* I. ii. 18-19, 48-51. I have used the Bullen text for all of Middleton's plays except *Hengist* and *A Game at Chess* (where I have used the texts of R. C. Bald).

[13]This figure includes oaths excised in the MS.

WITH HORN AND HOUND

By Paul Fatout

AMONG the Elizabethans a warrant of gentility almost as necessary as an heraldic crest was a lusty devotion to prescribed forms of hunting. The chase of the deer—both fallow and red—coursing the hare, hunting the wild boar, and hawking were a gentleman's pursuits. Fowling—taking birds with snares, with cross-bow, and eventually with shotgun—though within the pale of the correct thing, was too tedious to be popular with gentlemen. It was chiefly a poor man's sport. Angling was not an aristocratic pastime, and fox hunting was beneath notice, the fox being considered merely vermin.[1]

> Fowre maner beestys of venery there are
> The first of theym is the hert the secund is the hare
> The bore is oon of tho the Wolff and not oon moe[2]

However, all varieties of hunting and woodcraft encompassed a vocabulary of particular terms, now mostly obsolete, but as familiar to the Elizabethan to the manner born as the language of motors and radio is to us.[3] As he was conditioned from infancy to horses, hounds, hawks, and the chase, the language came naturally to him; he needed no glossary. But the parvenu, pranked in an upstart title (like Osric and his kind, whom "the drossy age dotes on"), needed a handbook if he would stall pretense betwixt the wind and his new hatched nobility.

The earliest original book of venery in English was *The Boke of St. Albans*, attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, and published in 1486; by the time of Shakspere's death it had gone through, completely or in part, twenty-two editions, nine of them within his lifetime. Another treatise was *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting,* conjecturally by George Turberville, published in 1575.

Both of these, however, stem from *Livre de Chasse,* the most famous of hunting books, written between 1387 and 1391 by Count Gaston de Foix, or Gaston Phoebus, as he

was (and is) usually known. An English translation, entitled *The Master of Game,* with some original additions, was published by the grandson of Edward III, the second Duke of York (the Aumerle of Shakspere's *Richard II*), between 1406 and 1413. By Shakspere's time, however, the hunting language had either discarded the French vocabulary in favor of honest English words, or had corrupted the French to its English equivalents (as "quarry" for "curée," for instance). Some of the elaborate punctilio of venery, as set forth in *The Master of Game,* had disappeared; some had been modified to English uses. Though the Elizabethans could not escape the influence of French language and customs, they were hardly the people to venerate either.

Shakspere, since he apparently wrote of hunting from observation and experience rather than from books (like Ben Jonson), is all English. Indeed, so English and so well informed as never, so far as I know, to be caught out. The most interesting conclusion of *The Diary of Master William Silence*[4] is that this same accuracy in the language of venery is a valid test of the authenticity of doubtful passages.

The oldest English book of falconry, significantly entitled *The Institution of a Gentleman,* author unknown, was published in 1555. Another authoritative handbook was *The Booke of Faulconrie,* by George Turberville, originally bound with *The Noble Arte* and published in 1575.

These few texts are the principal sources of a now dead language, though they are by no means all, as the Elizabethan presses spawned books on hunting, horsemanship, farriery, falconry, archery, and other gentlemanly occupations about as often as our presses turn out guides to purposeful living and success.

"Go, bid the huntsmen wake them with their horns," commands Theseus.[5] Good hunters' horns

> driven of two spans in length, and not much more nor much less, and not too crooked neither too straight, but that the flue be three or four fingers uppermore than the head, that unlearned

> hunters call the great end of the horn. And also that it be as great and hollow driven as it can for the length, and that it be shorter on the side of the baldric than at the nether end. And that the head be as wide as can be, and always driven smaller and smaller to the flue, and that it be well waxed thicker or thinner according as the hunter thinks it will sound best.[5]

Such a horn, of ivory, wood, silver, fashioned from an ibex or even a common cattle horn, may be in the mind of Benedick when he says:

> Is it not strange that sheeps' guts should hale souls out of men's bodies? Well, a horn for my money, when all's done.[7]

But in railing against the married state he protests, ". . . that I will . . . hang my bugle in an invisible baldric, all women shall pardon me."[8] Handsomely decorated with gold or silver ferrules and rings, and provided with a stopper for the mouthpiece, the more elaborate hunting horn became a drinking horn. As in Emelye's sacrifice to Diana: "The hornes fulle of meth, as was the gyse."[9]

Titus invites Saturninus to the hunt:

> an it please your majesty
> To hunt the panther and the hart with me,
> With horn and hound we'll give your grace bonjour.[10]

The hart—Elizabethan hunters were not concerned with panthers, lions, or bears, which appear off and on in Shakspere's plays—is the male of the red deer, which is the European relative of the American Elk, or Wapiti. Though loosely defined by the modern dictionary as any male of this species, in the language of venery the hart was a male of six years, a hart of ten.

> And for to speke of the hert iff ye Will it lere
> Ye shall hym a Calfe call at the fyrst yere
> The secunde yere a Broket so shall ye hym call
> The therde yere a Spayad lerneth thus all
> The fowrith yere a Stagge call hym by any Way
> The fithe yere a grete Stagge youre dame bide yow say
> The vi yere call hym an hert[11]

Though a rascal was any deer under ten, it was also a small or lean deer, unworthy of the chase. Of Falstaff's ragged company—"No eye hath seen such scarecrows"[12]—Prince

Hal exclaims, "I never did see such pitiful rascals."[13] When Falstaff drives the quarrelsome Pistol out of the Boar's-head Tavern, Doll Tearsheet says, admiringly:

> I pray thee, Jack, be quiet; the rascal's gone. Ah, you whoreson little villain, you![14]

A hart of ten had a head of two tines on each top, in addition to his rights (brow, bay, and tray tines), which every warrantable deer was supposed to possess as a matter of course.

> And when a hart beareth as many tines on the one side as on the other, he may say if he be but forked that he is a hart of ten, and if he be troched of three he is a hart of twelve, if he be troched of four he is a hart of sixteen, always if it be seen that he has his rights beneath as before is said.[15]

" 'Note that when you speak of a harts hornes,' says Turberville, 'you must term them the Head and not the Hornes of the hart'."[16] Though *The Master of Game* naively confuses the two terms, Shakspere is more careful. In a familiar interplay of double meanings Ulysses, baiting Menelaus with having been cuckolded by Paris, says:

> O deadly gall, and theme of all our scorns!
> For thus we lose our heads to gild his horns.[17]

And later in the same scene Menelaus, restive under the jibes of Cressida, Patroclus, and Ulysses, exclaims:

> You fillip me o' the head.
> Cres. No, I'll be sworn.
> Ulys. It were no match, your nail against his horn.[18]

The philosophical Clown speaks of marriage to the Countess Rousillon:

> If men could be contended to be what they are, there were no fear in marriage; for young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam the papist, howsome'er their hearts are severed in religion, their heads are both one; they may jowl horns together, like any deer in the herd.[19]

Iago's mocking question: "How is it, general? have you not hurt your head?"[20] seems admissible here also.

A warrantable hart stood about sixteen hands high, and

in the pride of grease—sometime between Midsummer Day and Holy Rood Day, the best hunting season, as the Elizabethan hunter wanted fat venison—weighed upward of half a ton. In color "some be called brown, some dun, and some yellow."[21] Mature, wise, the hart was the noblest prey of the hunter, "of all Beasts the goodliest, stateliest, and most manly."[22] Shakspere recognizes its majesty in the Duke's "noblest hart" in *Twelfth Night,* Antony's "brave hart" addressed to the dead Caesar, and elsewhere. He quibbles with the word, as in Tybalt's "What, art thou drawn among these heartless hinds?"[23] An example of the association of ideas and word play is Touchstone's comment on his proposed marriage to Audrey:

> A man may, if he were of a fearful heart, stagger in this attempt; for heere we have no temple but the wood, no assembly but horn-beasts. But what though? Courage! As horns are odious, they are necessary.[24]

A common method of hunting the red deer was within the confines of a park or pale. Apparently anybody, noble or otherwise, might own a park, which he held by prescription, or king's grant. It was enclosed[25] and stocked with deer and other beasts of the chase. A forest, on the other hand, was a tract of land not necessarily wooded, not enclosed, often waste and wild, which was the property of the king only, and set apart for the keeping of game for his use.[26] Unlike the park it was protected by laws, courts, and officers of its own. Remember

> Herne the hunter
> Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest[27]

and the two forest keepers in the third part of *Henry VI.* Though Shakspere speaks of forests many times, either as merely "the forest," or by name, as Windsor forest (obviously a Crown property), Gaultree, Birnam, and the forest of Arden, only once have I found "my forest." In *Richard II* the aspiring Bolingbroke,

> a prince by fortune of my birth,
> Near to the king in blood,[28]

lectures Bushy and Green before their execution:

> you have fed upon my signories,
> Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,
> From my own windows torn my household coat,
> Razed out my impress, leaving me no sign
> Save men's opinions and my living blood,
> To show the world I am a gentleman.[29]

A park, however, (sometimes called a pale) was the usual holding of a landed proprietor, the traditional adjunct of the manor house, and, according to Bolingbroke, one of the signs of a gentleman. Banquo is murdered in "a park near the palace." Cymbeline's Queen refers to Britain

> As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
> With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters.[30]

The amorous Venus, embracing the reluctant Adonis, implores:

> since I have hemmed thee here
> Within the circuit of this ivory pale,
> I'll be a park and thou shalt be my deer.[31]

Hamlet speaks of "the pales and forts of reason."[32]

The pale was so bounded, either by natural or artificial barriers, that the prey could not escape. Within, it could be blenched into the toils and so to a bay. Such a method allowed part of the assembly to travel afoot as well as horseback, and either to follow the hounds or to take up a position on a point of vantage to watch the pursuit and to listen to the cry. Besides, hunting within a pale, though exhausting enough, was more nearly consistent with the capabilities of both horses and hounds than hunting at force or strength over open country, as in the chase of the buck and the roe.[33]

The hart was harboured (his lair discovered) early on the morning of the hunt. The hunter could be no slug-a-bed. Shakspere's glimpses of early morning—"As when the golden sun salutes the morn,"[34] "The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,"[35] and others—imply that he was sometimes out of bed by sunrise. Perhaps, like Benvolio, a troubled mind drove him to walk abroad, and then again he may have been up to join the hunting assembly of the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield, though, I think, with no

great joy at the prospect of the chase, for his admiration and compassion are for the hunted rather than for the hunter. The hounds in Duke's Orsino's dream are "fell and cruel hounds;" the Princess laments that she is about

> to spill
> The poor deer's blood, that my heart means no ill[36]

and he refers several times to the pathetic defenselessness of the doe.

Before sunrise foresters inspected approaches to coverts and professed to know by various signs the size and condition of the hart within. First, "Ye may know a great hart by the steps that in England is called trace . . . and if ye see that the form of the foot be of four fingers of breadth, ye may judge it is a great hart by the trace."[37] Macbeth, contemplating his bloody purposes, says he will surprise the castle of Macduff and slaughter

> His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
> That trace him in his line.[38]

Glendower, wordy of skimble-skamble stuff, retorts to the nagging Hotspur:

> And bring him out, that is but woman's son,
> Can trace me in the tedious ways of art
> And hold me pace in deep experiments.[39]

Sometimes in the early seventeenth century "trace" gave way to "slot," though the latter is not used by Shakspere.

Other signs to be noted in harbouring a hart were the stepping or gait (a hart or stag walked with steadier stride than a hind and generally placed the points of the hindfeet in the heels of the forefeet); fraying (height at which branches were broken off by the antlers); the rack or entry (where the hart entered covert); and the fumes or droppings. Having blemished the entry (bent down saplings to mark it), and having ringed the covert a few times with the liam hound to make sure that the hart was still within, the foresters returned to report to the assembly. Whereupon everybody fell to breakfast, of "cold capons, loins of veal, neats' tongues powdered, sausages and other savoury nick-

nacks and kickshaws,"[40] together with ale and wine. This ceremony over, the hunt got under way with much whoop and hurrah.

At the hunting, hounds, riders, and footmen went down wind.

> The 'prickers' or mounted horsemen were disposed around the wood on the opposite side to the toils so that the hart might have them in the wind. If, notwithstanding, he should break covert in their direction, the prickers were to 'blench' or head him so as to force him to the toils.[41]

Thus, Aaron, who would force Demetrius and Chiron into a toil, says:

> My son and I will have the wind of you:
> Keep there.[42]

And Beatrice, who would hunt care to a bay, answers Don Pedro when he says she has a merry heart:

> Yea, my lord; I thank it, poor fool,
> It keeps on the windy side of care.[43]

"How now, lad! is the wind in that door i' faith? Must we all march?"[44] asks Falstaff, who, downwind of the Prince and Peto, scents too much exertion ahead.

While the assembly waited, the liam hound, or blood-hound, tender of nose but of no cry, was laid on at the blemishing. When he had found the trail, the running hounds were uncoupled, so-called because they were leashed in pairs or couples. Thus, Nym and Pistol exchange bluster:

> Nym: I will cut thy throat, one time or other, in fair terms: that is the humour of it.
> Pist: 'Couple a gorge!
> O hound of Crete, think'st thou my spouse to get?[45]

When the hounds were cast in, the hunt was up. The cry, "match'd in mouth like bells, each under each,"[46] together with a din of routing and blowing, richocheted from hill to valley. Hamlet, pleased when the Mouse Trap is successfully sprung upon Claudius, asks Horatio, "Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers . . . get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?"[47] When the fickle populace turns against Coriolanus, Menenius reprimands the curs:

You have made
Good work, you and your cry![48]

The Bastard, Faulconbridge, speaks of the King's war drums mocking "the deep-mouth'd thunder."[49] The exuberant Elizabethans took their hunting as boisterously as they took everything else.

> (The hunter) hath enough to do to ride or to foot it well with his hounds and to be always near them and to hue and rout well. . . . And then shall he see the hart pass before him, and he shall holloa and rout mightily . . . and when all the hounds have passed before him then shall he ride after them and shall rout and blow as loud as he may with great joy and pleasure . . .[50]

The noise must have driven all small game to cover. Thus Edgar, pursued by his vindictive father,

by the happy hollow of a tree
Escap'd the hunt.[51]

The particular hart which had been harboured and unharboured by the liam hound was said to be "singled" from the rest of the herd. Though other deer might break covert, the good hunter and the good hound followed only the trail they had started on. But such hunting was not always easy, as an old hart was wise in the ways of doubling on his trail, running among other deer, and—so it was said—of routing out a younger deer for the hounds to follow while he himself kept thicket. Hence the careful hunter who valued his reputation for woodcraft must be sure that the hart in chase was the identical hart which had been harboured. The ambitious Richard, not a man ever to lose the trail of his prey, says of his father on the battlefield of Towton:

I saw him in the battle range about;
And watched him while he singled Clifford forth[52]

and later, when he himself meets Clifford:

Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone.[53]

Lavinia, discovering the rendezvous of Tamora and Aaron, berates them:

'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning;
And to be doubted that your Moor and you
Are singled forth to try experiments:

> Jove shield your husband from his hounds to-day!
> 'Tis pity they should take him for a stag.[54]

Hounds were said to "hunt change," or to be "on a fault" (or default) when they left the trail of the hunted deer for a new one. Many a hound, especially if young and inexperienced, would not strike upon a default, but ran "babling away without the scent, drawing the rest of the Kennel to follow him."[55] The propensity of young hounds to lose the scent and to confuse the whole cry is illustrated by the sorely beset Talbot who, watching his army flying before the French, says:

> They called us for our fierceness English dogs;
> Now, like to whelps, we crying run away.[56]

According to *The Noble Arte:* "If they (hounds) be to busie before they find the Sent good, we say *they Bawle.* If they be to busie after they find good Sent, we say *they Bable.*"[57] Some such babler, hunting change, was once old Gloucester, who enlightens the stolid Kent about the parentage of Edmund. His mother

> grew round-wombed, and had indeed, sir, a son for her cradle ere she had a husband for her bed. Do you smell a fault?[58]

Prince Henry, in a cynical mood, deprecates the gossip of the general, too noisy over the false scent of his own lack of greatness:

> God knows, whether those that bawl out the ruins of thy linen shall inherit his kingdom; but the midwives say the children are not in the fault.[59]

Of gossip, always too busy on a scent, Viola's "babbling gossip of the air,"[60] and Aaron's "long-tongued babbling gossip"[61] are apropos. Theobald's famous emendation, "and a' babbled of green fields," seems eminently Shaksperian in its image of the dying Falstaff upon a last default, the new trail of death.

The chase went on until the weary hart, dry mouthed, antlers thrown back, must turn at bay, literally with his back

to the wall to face the hounds. Such a hart is Antony when, almost at a bay, Maecenas says of him:

> When one so great begins to rage, he's hunted
> Even to falling. Give him no breath, but now
> Make boot of his distraction.[62]

The leading hounds formed a semi-circle about their prey, and, reinforced by the laggards which had been outdistanced in the chase, turned "the music of the cry" into "the thunder of the bay."[63] Shakspere is fond of the image. Demetrius, having with Chiron perpetrated his evil purpose upon Lavinia, boasts:

> I would we had a thousand Roman dames
> At such a bay, by turns to serve our lust.[64]

The high-minded Brutus, in his quarrel with Cassius:

> I had rather be a dog and bay the moon
> Than such a Roman.[65]

To whom Cassius, continuing the image, replies:

> Brutus, bay not me:
> I'll not endure it: you forget yourself
> To hedge me in.[66]

A hart was no mean opponent, as any rash attacker, leaping for the throat, was met by sharp, deadly forehooves, which either killed him or sent him howling away, a "flap-mouth'd mourner,"[67] who "against the welkin volleys out his voice."[68] However, the thunder of the bay eventually drew thence the straggling hunters.

> And then as far as it (the bay) may be heard every man draweth thither, and the knowing thereof is that the hunter that cometh first, and the hunters (one) after the other they holloa all together, and blow a mote (a long note) and a rechace all at once.[69]

The lovesick Venus, pursuing Adonis,

> hearkens for his hounds and for his horn:
> Anon she hears them chant it lustily,
> And all in haste she coasteth to the cry.[70]

Provided not too many hounds were being disabled, the bay lasted until the hunters, particularly the lord of the manor, came up to be in at the death. Then a huntsman designated by the master of the hunt dispatched the deer by

a thrust behind the shoulder, forward of the heart, with a sword or hunting knife. According to Madden, a rope was thrown around the antlers, the head was pulled back, and the throat cut. Whereupon, after the deer had been laid upon its side,

> every man shall blow the death that can blow . . . and as oft as any hunter beginneth to blow every man shall blow for the death to make the better noise, and make the hounds better know the horns and the bay.[71]

Then came the taking of assay and the breaking up of the hart, a ceremony in Gaston Phoebus' time fraught with elaborate details of etiquette. By the sixteenth century, however, some of the elaboration had disappeared. The chief huntsman, or the lord, or an honored guest, took assay by cutting a slit somewhat below the brisket to test the goodness and thickness of the flesh. "Let us make assay upon him,"[72] says the third Bandit, seeking Timon's gold. Laid on its back, the deer was skinned by an appointed huntsman, who, if he were really *au fait,* must be so dainty of his craft as not even to turn up his sleeves and not to bespatter himself with a single drop of blood.

The carcass was not thrown to the hounds, but was most carefully disposed of, various parts in order of excellence being allotted to the hunters according to rank. Such knowledge heightens the insulting implications of Demetrius when he says of Lysander, "I had rather give his carcass to my hounds."[73]

Followed then the quarry, or rewarding of the hounds with the paunch, from the French curée, so-called because originally given on the hide or cuir of the hart. By the time of Shakspere the word had acquired the additional connotations of a heap of slaughtered game ("This quarry cries on havoc")[74] and also of living game as an object of the chase. In the Folio *Macbeth* the Sergeant, reporting to Duncan of Macdonwald's rebellion, says:

> And fortune, on his damnëd Quarry smiling,
> Show'd like a rebel's whore.[75]

Though modern editions have emended "quarry" to "quar-

rel," the former is the more vigorous image, whatever the connotation, with which the subsequent "unseam'd him from the nave to the chaps" is thoroughly consistent.

The deer having been broken up, the various parts having been allotted their eligible recipients, perquisites having been reserved for foresters, huntsmen, and kennel men ("Ay, here's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee"),[76] the hounds were recoupled, and the chief huntsman wound "a strake of nine to call the company home."[77]

Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

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[1]Shakspere's allusions to liming of twigs to snare birds often glance at the lack of sportsmanship of the device. Polonius' "Ay, springes to catch woodcocks" is a contemptuous sniff at foolish people, and also, perhaps, at an ungentlemanly manner of hunting. There are not over a dozen allusions to angling in all the plays; the fox is chiefly a symbol of cunning and lack of courage.

[2]Dame Juliana Berners. *The Boke of St. Albans.* 1486. Reproduced in Facsimile by William Blades. Elliot Stock. London. 1899.

[3]John Chamberlain, that indefatigable letter writer, observer, gossip, and occasional hunter, shows us how common was the use of hunting terms. His 479 extant letters (from 1597 to 1626) are shot through not only with mention of actual hunting, but also with figurative usage (similar to Shakspere's): "well coursed," "full cry," "laide a traine," "a leash of Secretaries," "mewed up," "no news worth the flienge at," etc. Cf. *The Letters of John Chamberlain.* Edited by Norman Egbert McClure. Memoirs XII, Part I. The American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. 1939.

[4]D. H. Madden. *The Diary of Master William Silence.* Longmans. 1897.

[5]*Midsummed Night's Dream.* IV, 1, 143.

[6]*The Master of Game,* by Edward, Second Duke of York. Edited by Wm. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman. Duffield and Company. New York. 1909. p. 128.

[7]*Much Ado.* II, 3, 61-3.

[8]*Ibid.* I, 1, 242-45.

[9]*The Knightes Tale.* line 2279.

[10]*Titus Andronicus.* I, 1, 492-4.

[11]Dame Juliana Berners. *Op. cit. The Noble Arte* concurs, but *The Master of Game* says: ". . . the second year a bullock . . . the third year a brocket; the fourth year a staggard, the fifth a stag; the sixth year a hart of ten and then first is he chaseable, for always before shall be called but rascal or folly," p. 29.

[12]*1 Henry IV.* IV, 2, 42.

[13]*Ibid.* IV, 2, 70.

[14]*2 Henry IV.* II, 4, 223-5. The association of ideas—here of "rascal" with "little"—may be observed again and again in Shakspere. Here it tickles the fancy, as Falstaff is anything but lean!

[15]*The Master of Game,* p. 140.

[16]*Ibid.* p. 204.

[17]*Troilus and Cressida.* IV, 5, 30-31.

[18]*Troilus and Cressida.* IV, 5, 45-6.

[19]*All's Well.* I, 3, 54-9.

[20]*Othello.* IV, 1, 60.

[21]*The Master of Game.* p. 27.

[22]Gervase Markham. *Country Contentments.* 1611. Tenth Edition. 1668. p. 23.

[23]*Romeo and Juliet.* I, 1, 72.

[24]*As You Like It.* III, 3, 49-52.
[25]N. E. D. "Coke *On Litt.* 378 A Forest and Chase are not but a Parke must be inclosed."
[26]*Ibid.* "1598. Manwood *Lawes Forest.* i l. la, A Forrest is certain Territories of wooddy grounds and fruitfull pastures, priuleged for wild beasts and foules of Forrest, Chase and Warren to rest and abide in, in the safe protection of the King, for his princely delight and pleasure."
[27]*Merry Wives.* IV, 4, 28-9.
[28]*Richard II.* III, 1, 16-17.
[29]*Richard II.* III, 1, 22-27.
[30]*Cymbeline.* III, 1, 19-20.
[31]*Venus and Adonis.* lines 229-31.
[32]*Hamlet.* I, 4, 28. "Park" and "pale" (as both noun and verb) are common in Shakspere.
[33]Apropos the quality of Elizabethan horses, Cf. my "Roan Barbary". *The Shakspeare Association Bulletin.* Vol. 15, No. 2, April, 1940.
[34]*Titus Andronicus.* II, 1, 5.
[35]*Romeo and Juliet.* II, 3, 1.
[36]*Love's Labour's Lost,* IV, 1, 35-6.
[37]*The Master of Game.* pp. 137-8.
[38]*Macbeth.* IV, 1, 152-3.
[39]*1 Henry IV.* III, 1, 47-9.
[40]D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 14.
[41]*Ibid.* p. 33.
[42]*Titus Andronicus.* IV, 2, 133-4.
[43]*Much Ado.* II, 317-18.
[44]*1 Henry IV.* III, 102-3.
[45]*Henry* V. II, 1, 73-7.
[46]*Midsummer Night's Dream.* IV, 1, 127-8.
[47]*Hamlet.* III, 2, 286, 289.
[48]*Coriolanus.* IV, 6, 148.
[49]*King John.* V, 2, 173.
[50]*The Master of Game.* pp. 7, 10, 171.
[51]*Lear.* II, 3, 1-3.
[52]*3 Henry* VI. II, 1, 11-12.
[53]*Ibid.* II, 4, 1.
[54]*Titus Andronicus.* II, 2, 67-71.
[55]Gervase Markham, *Op. cit.* p. 22.
[56]*1 Henry VI.* I, 5, 25-6.
[57]D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 37.
[58]*Lear.* I, 1, 11-16.
[59]*2 Henry IV.* II, 2, 28-31.
[60]*Twelfth Night.* I, 5, 292.
[61]*Titus Andronicus.* IV, 2, 150.
[62]*Antony and Cleopatra.* IV, 1, 6-9.
[63]D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 60.
[64]*Titus Andronicus.* IV, 2, 41-2.
[65]*Julius Caesar.* IV, 3, 27-8.
[66]*Julius Caesar.* IV, 3, 28-30.
[67]*Venus and Adonis.* 1. 920.
[68]*Ibid.* 1. 921.
[69]*The Master of Game.* p. 173.
[70]*Venus and Adonis.* 11. 868-70.
[71]*The Master of Game.* p. 175.
[72]*Timon of Athens.* IV, 3, 406.
[73]*Midsummer Night's Dream.* III, 2, 64.
[74]*Hamlet.* V, 2, 378.
[75]*Macbeth,* I, 2, 14.
[76]*3 Henry VI.* III, 1, 22.
[77]D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 66.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT

By Arthur Heine

SHAKSPERE was mighty careless in his geography and he tossed anachronisms about with marked prodigality; so we should not be dismayed to find him transferring a bit of suburban London to Old Vienna and to "this bare island" in the seventh sea.

Commentators have noted the influence of Warwickshire upon Shakspere's imagination, especially in *The Shrew* and *The Merry Wives* and I wonder if the imprint of the author's London haunts cannot be traced in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest.*

While reading *Measure for Measure* at The Shakespeare Club of New York last Winter, we became intrigued by the great detail the poet used in describing Angelo's Viennese home environments, a typical demesne of XVI. century London.

When Mariana unveils and tells of her clandestine tryst, she *twice* defines the place of meeting as Angelo's "garden-house."

> This is the body
> That took away the match from Isabel,
> And did supply thee at thy garden-house
> In her imagin'd person.
> and, my good lord,
> But Tuesday night last in his garden-house
> He knew me as a wife.

The Elizabethan "garden-house" was more or less a well-accoutred summer-house, quite different from our present-day structures. It was, indeed, a comfortable retreat where its owner could in the tranquility of nature enjoy relaxation and social pleasures. Hotspur refers to such a house:

> I had rather live
> With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,
> Than feed on cates and have him talk to me
> In any summer-house in Christendom.

Because these garden-houses were screened from prying

eyes, they became in popular opinion, retreats that served chiefly for encounters of gallantry and immoral purposes, as touched upon in the following references:

> Now god thank you, sweet lady. If you
> have any friend, or garden-house where you may
> employ a poor gentleman as your friend, I
> am yours to command. (*The London Prodigal, V, i*)

And a gloss informs us that "A garden-house is defined as a summer-house surrounded by trees and flowers; these places were used in former days for stolen meetings in affairs of gallantry."

> In the feelds and Suburbs of the Cities thei have Gardens, either palled or walled around about very high, with their Harbors and Bowers fit for the purpose. And least thei have their Banquetting houses with Galleries, Turrets, and what not else therin sumptuously erected wherein thei may (and doubtless doe) many of them plaie the filthy person. And for their Gardens are locked, some of them have three or fower keyes a peace, whereof one they keepe for themselves, the others their paramours have to goe in before them, leaste happely they should be perceived, for then were all thir sport dasht. (Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomy of the Abuses in England,* 1583)

And, finally, mention is made of an old citizen

> Who, coming from the
> Curtain in Shoreditch sneaketh
> To some garden noted house of sinne. (*Skialethia,* 1598)

At the moated grange, Isabella tells of the arrangements she had made with Angelo and then gives the two keys to the Duke who in turn hands them to Mariana. Isabella proceeds to orientate her on ways and means to reach the rendezvous:

> He hath a garden circummur'd with brick,
> Whose western side is with a vineyard back'd;
> And to that vineyard is a planchéd gate
> That makes his opening with this larger key.
> This other doth command a little door
> Which from the vineyard to the garden leads;
> There have I made my promise
>
> Upon the heavy middle of the night
> To call upon him.

This itinerary appears a hard way to hit, as devious as

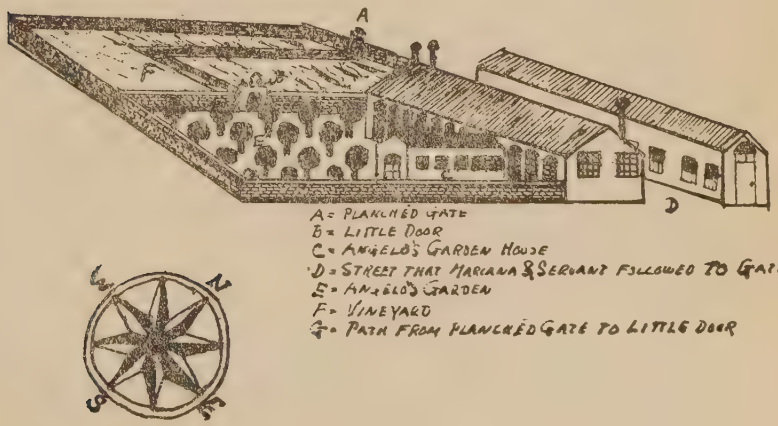
Gobbo's path to Shylock's house, and the Duke becomes rightly doubtful. Isabella takes pains to reassure him with

> I have ta'en a due and wary note upon it:
> With whispering and most guilty diligence,
> In action all of precept, he did show me
> The way twice o'er.

It is all too precise to convince me that this was the offspring of the author's imagination and not taken from some home and garden with which he was well acquainted.

After several vain attempts to draw a diagram embracing the brick-walled garden, the planchéd gate, the small door, the path that led through the vineyard and finally Angelo's garden-house, I was fortunate in finding in the end lining paper of Alden Brooks' *Will Shakspere and the Dyer's Hand* a contemporary engraving by Wenzel Hollar, a Bohemian etcher, of the Southwark District of London.

From this print, I made the accompanying rough sketch visualizing the supposable roundabout path that Mariana and her servant followed from the street, through the planchéd gate into the vineyard to reach the smaller-keyed door leading into the garden, where the servant waited while she entered the garden-house to fulfill her token of a "repair i' the dark."



It is all there; taken from Southwark, and I am tempted to believe that the conception of Angelo's garden-house set down in Old Vienna was inspired or rather copied from the very environments of this well-known district of Shakspere's day.

In pursuing my topic further, I turn now to *The Tempest* and take up the details of the exterior of Prospero's cell. Ariel (*Act IV, i*) tells us the prisoners are confined "In the line-grove which weather-fends your cell." Prospero had directed Ariel

> The trumpery in my house, go bring it hither
> For stale to catch these thieves.

and when he returns with the "glistering apparel," Prospero says: "Come, hang them on this line." And it would appear from this that the "trumpery" is hung low upon the trees of the line-grove to tempt Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo to assume the wardrobe placed to snare them and eventually to "catch them with the goods."

There is much punning upon "line," a word that is used successively by Prospero, Ariel and the three conspirators until it assumes to our mind the meaning of a line or grove of trees in a state of care and cultivation, specifically planted to weather-fend Prospero's cell.

This seems a strange particularization for a wild and practically uninhabitable island, but if we glance again at Hollar's engraving we find a striking example of a grove or line of trees exactly weather-fending the garden-house.

If the skeptic would judge this as a mere coincidence, let us accompany Ariel and the three culprits on their way to the line-grove:

> At last I left them
> I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
> There dancing up to their chins, that the foul lake
> O'erstunk their feet.

The Tempest is a play of sheer witchery and it is difficult to understand how the author could, solely out of his imagination, toss in an incongruous detail of horse manure to mar the sublimity of enchantment, without any apparent purpose.

"Beyond" the circummur'd garden of *Measure for Measure* and "beyond" Prospero's cell of *The Tempest* there stood just such a foul horse pool in Southwark, and nearby was the notorious ducking stool, where victims were set "dancing up to their chins" — an expression especially applied to this instrument of punishment and torture.

To the mind of this essayist, all these pertinently worded details anent the garden-house, the line-grove and the filthy mantled pool give to "airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

Even if the conception of Angelo's garden-house and Prospero's "poor cell" were inspired or copied from the imprint on the poet's mind or eye from actual contact in the Southwark District, he still stands undimmed in his own right.

245 East 72nd Street,
New York, N. Y.

WHO IS E.K.?

By Dr. Raymond Jenkins

(*Conclusion*)

E.K. and Spenser make the same errors, in some instances rather egregious ones. But another reason for regarding them as one person is that their learning, their literary ideals and convictions, their knowledge of foreign and native authors are curiously identical. When Spenser wrote the *Calender* he was fired by the ambition to naturalize the pastoral in England; he wished to make sure, according to E.K.'s statement, "that in this kind . . . we might be equal to the learned of other nations."[59] For Spenser's heart and head were full. He had things to say which he only could say in the manner which suited him. To get a fair hearing for his first great appeal to the public, he had to have his sponsors. Leicester and Sidney were too far above him; Harvey was too clumsy and egotistic. The only one who could write an adequate commendatory letter like the Epistle to Harvey was Spenser himself. Would he not therefore decide that his mouth only would blow his own trumpet? Only the poet himself, and no friend or intermediary, could adequately exalt the *new* poetry. The Epistle therefore is the poet's own preface to the *Calender,* as the letter to Raleigh is to the *Faerie Queene*. For Spenser, like Wordsworth, aimed to create the taste by which he hoped to be enjoyed. The stylistic qualities of the *Calender* which E.K. acclaims in the lines

> his wittinesse in deuising, his pittinesse in uttering, his complaints of love so louely, his discourses of pleasure so pleasantly, his pastoral rudenesse, his morall wisenesse, his dewe obseruing of Decorum euerye where[60]

bear, like the letters to Harvey, in their substance and in their alliterative excess the stamp of Spenser's quaint, redundant prose. The whole letter, as well as the Argument, exhibits Spenser's fondness for parading his learning; in its ostentatious erudition it is like the Gloss with its incessant references to the Latin figures of rhetoric.

The Epistle is primarily Spenser's defense and explanation of the archaism of the *Calender*. For in his poetry Spenser wished to levy upon all the resources of the vernacular that he might make it equal in power and reputation to the tongues of the continent, especially French and Italian. In condemning the practice of indiscriminate adoption of foreign words and thereby making "our English tongue a gallimaufray or hodgepodge of al other speeches,"[61] the writer of the introductory letter is inveighing not so much against the use of words of foreign derivation as against the common contempt among the half-learned for native English words. Spenser held that English was not "bare and barrein" but "both ful enough for prose & stately enough for verse."[62] Spenser would also hold that obsolete words "bring great grace and . . . authoritie" to the verse, and he would defend the archaic, dialectal words of the Calendar as "English, and also vsed of most excellent authors and most famous Poetes."[63] Spenser would deem it his "special prayse . . . that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage such good and naturall English words, as have ben long time out of vse & almost cleare disherited."[64] In the use of archaic words there is, in fact, no inconsistency between E.K.'s position in the Epistle and Spenser's practice in the *Calender*. This letter seems, indeed, Spenser's articulate voice speaking to his readers.

The positions of E.K. and Spenser are likewise identical in their attitude to the poet's calling and to the high ends of poetry. The enthusiastic tone of the argument of *October* and certain notes in the Gloss regarding the poet's inspiration do not seem the tame voice of the mere commentator but the earnest accent of the poet who is imbued with convictions regarding the sublime importance of his vocation. Again and again in his work Spenser proclaims that only poetry bestows earthly immortality. This theme bursts forth in the first four lines of the epilogue of the *Calender*. In the *Ruines of Time* the poet again exclaims:

> For deeds doe die, how ever noblie donne,
> And thoughts of men do as themselves decay,
> But wise wordes taught in numbers for to runne,
> Recorded by the Muses, live for ay.[65]

The theme of these lines is repeated in E.K.'s gloss in *December* in explanation of the missing emblem:[66] "The meaning whereof is that all things perish and come to theyr last end, but workes of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for ever." In the gloss of *October* E.K. thus begins and ends his remarks on *For ever*:

> He sheweth the cause, why Poetes were wont be had in such honor of noble men; that is, that by them their worthines & valor shold through theyr famous Posies be commended to all posterities. wherefore it is sayd, that Achilles had neuer bene so famous, as he is, but for Homeres immortal verses. . . . Such honor haue Poetes alwayes found in the sight of princes and noble men. which this author here very well sheweth, as els where more notably.

The last clause of this quotation is doubtless a reference to the "booke called the English Poete" which, according to the *argument* of *October,* is an expression of Spenser's theory of poetry. In this argument appears a declaration of Spenser's heartfelt conviction regarding poetry: "diuine gift and heauenly instinct . . . poured into the witte by a certaine and celestiall inspiration."[67]

The knowledge of classic, Italian, and native authors which E.K. evinces in the Gloss appears almost identical with Spenser's knowledge of these authors as shown in the *Calender* and in his other works. To scholars who have argued for the identity of E.K. and Spenser it has seemed astonishing that the poet and the editor of the Gloss seem equally versed in Platonic philosophy. In his *Discourse of Civil Life,* Lodowyck Bryskett, Spenser's intimate friend, had declared the poet "not onely perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie both morall and naturall." In the Gloss E.K. shows the influence of the *Republic,* and he refers to the *Laws* and the dialogues *Alcibiades* and *Phaedo*. Spenser and E.K. are equally well-read in Theocritus, Plutarch, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Mantuan, Petrarch, Marot, Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, and Gascoigne. Both also seem equally versed in Greek, Latin, Italian, and their native English. E.K.'s explanations of the emblems of the eclogues particularly illustrate their identical familiarity with foreign literature. Concerning

the two Greek emblems for *May,* for instance, E.K. comments: "Both these Emblemes make one whole Hexametre."

What seems especially remarkable is that E.K. and Spenser are equally versed in native authors. Spenser palpably derived the homely pastoral name, Colin Clout, from John Skelton; E.K. has also "sene a Poesie of M. Skeltons under that title." E.K. is as great an admirer of George Gascoigne as were Spenser and Harvey. In the gloss of *November* E.K. under *Philomele* commends Gascoigne as "a wittie gentleman and very chefe of our late rymers;" like Harvey and Spenser, E.K. is well acquainted with Gascoigne's *Complainte of Philumene.* But E.K. and Spenser are also thoroughly versed in Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer; in fact, E.K. knows both the words and the lines that the "new Poete" derives from the earlier poets. In the gloss of *July* E.K. writes regarding *glitterand*: "Glittering. a Participle vsed sometime in Chaucer, but altogether in I. Goore." Great indeed, as Dr. J. L. Lowes shows, was Spenser's debt to Gower in his Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins.[68] In the gloss of *February* E.K. annotates *Gride*: "perced: an olde word much vsed of Lidgate, but not found (that I know of) in Chaucer." Also, in the gloss of *November* E.K. explains *welked*: "shortened or empayred. As the Moone being in the waine is sayde of Lidgate to welk." Professor Herford suggests that Spenser borrowed the phrase *painted words* of *February* from Lydgate's *Life and Death of Hector.*[69]

The admiration of E.K. for Chaucer is intimated in the first lines of his letter to Harvey: "VNCOVTHE VNKISTE, sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer: whom for his excellencie and wonderfull skil in making, his scholler Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a maister calleth the Loadestarre of our Language." That *uncouthe* should be *unknowe* to be correctly quoted from *Troilus and Criseyde* should not lead us to conclude that E.K. is less a scholar than Spenser; in fact, this error in quotation, natural to one who is quoting from memory, is typically Spenserian. In the note after *Tityrus* in the gloss of *February*

E.K. again seems to give utterance to Spenser's reverence for Chauier: "I suppose he meane Chaucer, whose prayse for pleasaunt tales cannot dye, so long as the memorie of hys name shal live, & the name of Poetrie shal endure." In the introduction to his edition of the *Calender* Professor Herford writes: "It might almost seem that Spenser [to be accurate Professor Herford should write *E.K.*] borrowed from Chaucer nothing but his sly way of acknowledging indebtedness chiefly where it was not due," and he declares that there is in the *Calender* "scarcely any direct reminiscence of the master himself."[70] This assertion is a decided understatement for both the notes of E.K. and of Professors Herford and Renwick indicate that Spenser used many archaic words because he found them either in Chaucer or in works like *The Plowman's Tale,* which he believed were written by Chaucer. E.K. knows that Spenser derives many of his terms from his master. In the gloss of *February* after *Heardgromes* appears the note: "Chaucers verse almost whole;" and a glance at the lines in *The House of Fame* shows that Spenser has taken over Chaucer's very rhymes.[71] Again, in *February* E.K. defines *tottie,* which Spenser doubtless took from Chaucer's *Reves Tale,* as 'wavering;" and *sterne strife* E.K. attributes to Chaucer, though it is probably a reminiscence of the pseudo-Chaucerian *Plowman's Tale.* Also, in *September* E.K. notes after *priue or pert*: "openly sayth Chaucer" whereas he doubtless remembers *priuie noe perte* of the pseudo-Chaucerian *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy.*[72] After *Spell* in the gloss of *March* E.K. quotes Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* from memory. E.K. likewise refers frequently to Chaucer in *May.* He defines *Her* as "theyr, as vseth Chaucer." *Clincke* as "a key hole. Whose diminutive is clicket, vsed of Chaucer for a Key," and *Cheuisaunce* as "sometime of Chaucer vsed for gaine: sometime of other for spoyle, or bootie, or enterprise, and sometime for chiefdome." Indeed, E.K. is as well versed in Chaucer as Spenser and, like Spenser in the *Veue,* he loves to parade his linguistic accomplishments as well as his curious learning.

These illustrations from the Gloss show that E.K. knows with some accuracy whether a word is from Lydgate or

Chaucer or Gower;[73] they also intimate that Spenser's words of Middle English origin were, as E.K. says, "vsed of most excellent authors and famous Poetes." The poet used these strange and obsolete Middle English words because "they bring," to quote E.K., "great grace and auctoritie to the verse." A study of the diction of the *Calender* makes certain that Spenser read the old folios of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower—as Keats read his Spenser—with a keen eye for quaint and picturesque words. Dr. J. W. Draper avers that "the old authors were for Spenser a very mine of verbal curiosities," that Spenser knew his Middle English grammar, that "Spenser's knowledge of Middle English seems to have been considerably wider and more accurate than many scholars . . . have allowed."[74] Since Elizabethan annotators had no convenient glosses to Chaucer or Gower, Professor Draper rightly declares that the knowledge that a glossator must have had to follow in his [Spenser's] recondite footsteps must indeed have been enormous." Dr. Draper lists over one hundred words of the *Calender* which are of Middle English origin. All of these words are correctly glossed by E.K. Dr. Draper declares that E.K.'s "meanings jibe with the text" and they "also appear with the same meaning in the body of literature from which Spenser could easily have culled them." Is it not strange that E.K.'s knowledge of Middle English literature is identical with that of the poet? Is it probable that a mere editor, a typical scholar of the Renaissance, would be as accurate in his explanations of obsolete Middle English words as the poet himself could have been? The aptness of E.K.'s definitions, especially since no glosses or dictionaries of Middle English existed in his time, appears therefore quite impossible unless E.K. is identified with the poet himself. Sheer guesses, for were E.K. other than Spenser he would have had to resort to sheer guesses in many instances, are never so uncannily accurate. Professor Draper avers: "One can not imagine such a multitude of good guesses based on no previous knowledge of the word. . . . That E.K., unaided, either knew or guessed correctly in the vast majority of these cases surely passes belief."[75]

But E.K. not only glosses Spenser's Middle English

words correctly; he also properly glosses colloquial and dialectal Elizabethan words as well as learned words and neologisms from the poet's own brain. Though Spenser employs considerable poetic license in the *Calender* and, as Professor Draper says "shifts at will sense, syntax, and pronunciation, sometimes for his rhyme or meter, sometimes, apparently, from caprice or forgetfulness,"[76] E.K. never loses the linguistic scent. The word *stoure,* for instance, which Professor Dodge considers "the most flexible of Spenser's words" is properly confused by E.K. with *stoundes* in the gloss of *May* since the context demands it. *Steven* is appropriately glossed as *noyse.*[77] E.K. correctly glosses more than a dozen dialectal words which do not appear in literary use before the publication of the *Calender.* But in glossing *weanall waste* he and Spenser appear similarly confused regarding the exact meaning of *wennel* in East Anglian. E.K. glosses *A Weanall waste* "a weaned youngling."[78] This gloss is, of course, appropriate to the eclogue. But the dialectal *wennel,* as Professor Draper points out, is a noun and means an animal newly weaned, a weanling. *Waste* means a thin lamb. It is quite obvious that Spenser and E.K. mistook the noun *wennel* for the participial adjective *weaned.* E.K. likewise glosses *In derring doe* "In manhoode and cheualrie."[79] Except in the sixteenth edition of Lydgate this phrase from Middle English ever appears as *dorryng do.* This misprint in Lydgate accounts for the form in Spenser, and yet E.K. simply glosses it, failing to notice that it is a decided variant.

But E.K.'s correct definitions of dialectal words as well as those culled by Spenser from Middle English poets are even less remarkable than his ability to define correctly several terms which Spenser coined. There are, indeed, many anomalous coinages in the *Calender* which E.K. could have found in no contemporary dictionaries. Spenser uses the word *shole*[80] which had not appeared in print before that date, yet E.K. correctly glosses it: "a multitude; taken of fishe, whereof some going in great companies, are sayde to swimme in a shole." The coinage *forehaile* is correctly glossed "drawe or distresse.[81] But Spenser also coins several words from foreign tongues, and E.K. glosses all of them

exactly. For instance, the word *crumenall* from the Latin *crumena,* here used for the first time in print, is properly glossed "purse."[82] Likewise, the word *cantion,* coined by E.K. in the gloss of *October,* from the Latin *cantionem* suggests that he and the poet are equally learned and equally apt in coinages from the Latin. In the same eclogue *stanck,* from the Italian *stanco,* is rightly glossed "wearie or fainte."[83] E.K. aptly defines *chamfred*[84] as "chapt or wrinkled," and yet the only previous instance of this coinage noted by *N E D* appears in Cooper's *Thesaurus,* a volume which was much used by both Spenser and E.K. That E.K.'s knowledge of Latin, Italian, French, Middle English, and colloquial Elizabethan English is identical with that of the poet inclines one to conclude that Spenser did more than inspire the notes. The glossing of Spenser's coinages is so happy that one could hardly expect them from any one except the author. Dr. Draper, who hesitates to question the identification of E.K. with Edward Kirke, actually concludes as much: "We must suppose either that the words were more common than the records would have us suppose, or that E.K. was rather lucky in guessing the sense from the context, or that Spenser had a considerable hand in the glossing."[85]

Even E.K.'s supposed errors as well as his false etymologies further support the view that E.K. is an anonym of the poet. Despite the contentions of recent editors of the *Calender* who argue that E.K. and Spenser were not one person because E.K. misinterpreted Spenser's lines in a few glosses, it is impossible to prove in any instance that E.K. did not provide the interpretation that the poet intended. On this point Dr. Draper says: "Of the ten possible examples of mis-glossing, all but two or three are quite uncertain; and the rest seem to be careless blunders, attributable quite as probably to Spenser as to E.K.[86] In her article "E.K. is Spenser"[87] Mrs. Agnes Kuersteiner has effectively countered Professor Herford's allegation[88] that E.K. mistook the evident meaning of Spenser in his gloss of *wonne, welked, herse,* and *glen.*[89] With respect to E.K.'s identification of *glen* with "a country hamlet or borough," Dr. Draper says that it is "possibly an intentional error de-

signed to cover the somewhat too definitely Northern suggestion of *glen* . . . Spenser is as liable to have made it himself as E.K."[90] Certainly the sense given by E.K. suits the text, and it may illustrate Spenser's endeavor to mystify the reader. Of *inly*[91] which is glossed as "entirely" one may assert with Professor Draper: "the mistake looks rather like an error of sheer carelessness."[92] Or one may think that Spenser, in the guise of E.K., glossed it thus because he took the significance of "entirely" to be essentially identical with "inwardly" since he adds "afforesayde" to this gloss of *Inly* in *September*. Professor Herford objects to E.K.'s gloss of *queint* as "strange."[93] He notes: "Queint has here rather the common Elizabethan and occasional M.E. sense of 'fine,' 'rare,' with the association of artistic elaboration."[94] But Spenser uses *queint* in the sense of "strange" in the *Faerie Queene*.[95] When the poet himself supports E.K.'s gloss, one does not need to accept Professor Herford's elaborate definition. Again, Professor Renwick writes of E.K.'s gloss of *Underfonge* "Vndermyne and deceive by false suggestion":[96] "E.K. mistakes the thing: *vnderfonge* means only *seize, take,* as at *November* 22 and the *Faerie Queene,* v, ii, 7." But Professor Dodge and Herford as well as *N E D* disagree with Professor Renwick; all accept E.K.'s definition and all quote to support them the precise passage in the *Faerie Queene* that Professor Renwick cites. And any reader of the lines in the *Calender* or the *Faerie Queene* will admit that E.K.'s definition is the more significant. Of *Tamburins,* glossed by E.K.: "an olde kind of instrument which of some is supposed to be the clarion,"[97] Professor Renwich notes: "E.K. is guessing. Spenser may have meant the French *tamburin,* rather than the familiar English tabor. The modern *tambourine* is a much later importation." But *N E D* notes: "It is not clear what Spenser and Jonson (*Sad Shepherd* I, iii) meant by *tamburin*." Mrs. Kuersteiner believes that neither E.K. nor Spenser knew what tambourines were; she suggests that Spenser had heard the word but that he did not associate it with the proper instrument, and that his confusion is indicated by E.K.'s note saying the instrument might be the clarion.[98]

E.K.'s false etymologies are also precisely what we

should expect of Spenser. Though declaring that E.K. is a bold etymologist, Professor Herford admits that his mistakes in etymology "may well have been shared by Spenser."[99] Two of E.K.'s striking derivations are eclogues from *aigon logoi* (Gr) [goatherds tales] in the *Generall Argument* and of elf from guelf, and goblin from Ghibeline in the *June* gloss. Of the latter Professor Herford says: "E.K.'s explanation of *elf* and *goblin* is a valuable specimen of 'half-learned' etymology among the Elizabethans."[100] The word frenne (*April* 28) is from the O.E. *fremde* but, as Professor Herford says, "Spenser probably took it [as E.K. certainly did] for a contraction of Fr. *forein* (L. foris)."[101] Also, E.K. is again wrong in saying of *emprise,* which is from Old French *emprise*: "for enterprise Per Syncopen."[102] The reason why E.K. thought *underfong*[103] meant entrap or beguile is, again, doubtless given by Professor Draper: "What is more probable, Spenser, led on by a false etymology, misread his Middle English."[104] E.K.'s etymology is again awry in his derivation of the *Fever Lurdane* from Lord Dane.[105] That E.K. derived this false etymology from Holinshed is highly probable because, as Professor Renwick points out,[106] the account of E.K. and of Holinshed of the reason why the Britons came to hold the Lord Danes in contempt is identical in substance. Since Professor Draper has shown that Spenser in his *Veue* apparently derived certain false etymologies from Holinshed,[107] the fact that E.K. also derived this one is likely. After a thorough consideration of the language of the *Calender*—Middle English, dialectal, learned, and coined words as well as false etymologies—Dr. Draper comes to this conclusion: "The evidence of the lexicography points to a very large share of Spenserian authorship of the glosses. . . . I think, undoubtedly, Spenser inspired, if not actually wrote, most of the entries."[108]

The upshot of these arguments is that Spenser is E.K.: The instances in which Spenser and Harvey endeavor to publicize themselves and make game of their readers by mystifying hoaxes and pseudonyms; E.K.'s unstinted praise of and uncanny familiarity with the published and unpublished works of Spenser and Harvey; biographical evidence

that Spenser was in London when the *Calender* was in press; the fact that Edward Kirke is never mentioned by Spenser and neither Edward Kirke nor E.K. by Harvey; the many patent advantages of the anonym E.K.; the ingenuity of the poet in appearing to make the editorial role of E.K. consistent; the palpable blinds of E.K.; the common sources of Spenser and E.K. in contemporary Latin dictionaries and in Badius' gloss on Mantuan; the striking similarity of two passages in reference to Petrarch and to Cicero in the Spenser-Harvey Letters and in E.K.'s Gloss; the identical error of Spenser and of E.K. regarding the signs of the zodiac; the reappearance of themes and stories in E.K.'s Gloss in the poetry of Spenser; the identical errors in classic myth in the *Calender,* in other poems of Spenser, and in E.K.'s Gloss; the identity of learning and of literary convictions of both Spenser and E.K.; the correct glossing by E.K. of learned, dialectal, and obsolete Middle English words as well as neologisms of the poet; the mistaken definitions and false etymologies of Spenser and E.K. Everything assigned to E.K. in the *Calender* is, quite as much as the twelve eclogues, the unmistakable projection of the mind of Edmund Spenser. The Epistle, the arguments, and the Gloss are not the product of a "different, less flexible mind" as Professor Renwick says, but of the same supple mind that created the *Calender.* If this conclusion is valid, E.K.'s contributions to the *Calender* greatly illumine the life and character of the poet, Edmund Spenser.

Catawba College.

[59]W. L. Renwick's edition, p. 8.

[60]*Ibid.,* p. 3.

[61]*Ibid.,* p. 6.

[62]*Ibid.,* p. 5. Of the latter half of this long first paragraph of the Epistle, Professor Osgood in his Variorum edition (p. 238) comments: "No ear attuned to the Spenserian cadence, no mind accustomed to Spenserian imagery, can fail to recognize Spenser's voice in this passage."

[63]*Ibid.,* p. 4.

[64]*Ibid.,* p. 5.

[65]Ll. 400-404.

[66]Professor Renwick points out that the emblem which is printed in modern editions first appeared in the edition of Hughes in 1715.

[67]This conviction regarding the divine inspiration of the poet, again repeated in the *embleme* of *October,* echoes the phrasing of Cicero's oration *pro Archia,* to which

E.K. refers rather frequently in his Gloss; the word *endousiasmos* (Greek) appears in Cicero's letter *ad Quintum fratrem.* Cf. Renwick's *Commentary,* p. 216.

In commenting on the sources of *October* and its gloss, Professor Osgood in his Variorum edition (p. 371) writes: "Throughout the eclogue and the Gloss the great power of poetry and music over the soul is recognized; Spenser, like Plato, wishes to 'restraine the lust of lawlesse youth' and 'true vertue to aduance.' Confused and inaccurate as the references in the Gloss to the Platonic writings are, they yet suggest that these ideas may have come originally, in some measure, from reading in *The Republic* and the *Laws.*" Professor Osgood also believes (p. 392) that in the passage in the *Veue* (Globe ed., p. 639), referring to Aristotle on Cyrus and the music of the Lydians, Spenser "seems to have had in mind Plato, *Laws* 3. 694-700."

[68]"Spenser and the Mirour de l'Omme," PMLA 29 (1914), 388-452. E.K. defines *corbe* (*February* 56) as crooked. Professor Herford notes that *courbe* appears in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 1. 99.

[69]Edition of *Calender,* p. 103.

[70]Intro. xxxvii.

[71]Book III. 134-36.

[72]Ll. 174-76.

[73]In Professor Moore Smith's edition of Harvey's *Marginalia* (p. 226) is a note which appears in Harvey's copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer (1598): "Amongst the sonnes of the Inglish Muses; Gower, Lidgate, Heywood, Phaer, & a fewe other famous memorie, ar meethinkes, good in manie kindes: but abooue all other, Chawcer is mie conceit, is excellent in euerie veine, & humour: & none so like him for gallant verietie, both in matter, & forme, as Sir Philip Sidney: if all the Exercises which he compiled after Astrophil, & Stella, were consorted in one volume. Works in mie phansie, worthie to be intituled, the flowers of humanitie. Axiophilus in one of his Inglish discourses."

[74]"The Glosses to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*", *JEGP* 18 (1919), 556-74.

[75]*Op. cit.,* pp. 570-571.

[76]*Ibid.,* p. 573.

[77]*September* 224. Professor Herford thinks it should be glossed as *cry* or *voice.* Though Dr. Herford thinks enaunter (*February* 200 and *September* 161) should be glossed *in case,* E.K.'s *least that* is very apt in the context.

[78]*September* 198.

[79]*October* 65.

[80]*May* 20. *Iouyssance* of *Maye* (25) and *November* (2) is glossed ioye and myrth. Souenaunce (*May* 82 and *November* 5) is possibly taken from Caxton's *Golden Legend* or *Jason,* and is also correctly glossed "remembraunce." In this connection it is noticeable that Spenser is not the only one who is fond, as Herford remarks, of words ending in *aunce.* E.K. is also partial to this Spenserian ending, even to the extent of giving a word with the same ending as a synonym.

[81]*September* 243.

[82]*September* 11[9].

[83]*September* 47. This word does not even appear in *N E D.*

[84]*February* 43.

[85]*Op. cit.,* p. 567.

[86]*Ibid.,* p. 571.

[87]*EMIA* 50 (1935), 140-55.

[88]Intro. xxiv.

[89]*February* 119, *November* 13 and 60, and *April* 26 respectively.

[90]*Op. cit.,* p. 569.

[91]*May* 39.

[92]*Ibid.*, p. 569.

[93]*October* 114.

[94]P. 180.

[95]V, vii, 21.1.

[96]*June* 103.

[97]*June* 59.

[98]*Op. cit.*, p. 143.

[99]*Intro.* xxiv.

[100]P. 137.

[101]P. 200.

[102]*September* 83.

[103]*June* 103.

[104]*Op. cit.*, p. 566.

[105]Dr. Herford notes (p. 143) that *loordain* is M.E. and that it is derived from O.F. *lourdein*.

[106]*Commentary*, p. 205.

[107]"More Light on Spenser's Linguistics," MLN 41 (1926), 127-8. In the *Commentary* of his edition of Spenser's *Veue* Professor Renwick also notes many mistaken etymologies of Spenser.

[108]"The Glosses to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," JEGP 18 (1919), 571.